Working Paper Series A

Organizational Behavior

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An Intergroup Educational Procedure

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REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE		READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM
1. REPORT NUMBER TR ONR 7	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO. A158 787	3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER
4. TITLE (and Subtitle) THE RACE RELATIONS COMPETENCE WORKSHOP: AN INTERGROUP EDUCATIONAL PROCEDURE		5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED Interim
		6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER WP 71
7. AUTHOR(s) Clayton P. Alderfer, Charleen J. Alderfer, Robert C. Tucker, Leota M. Tucker		8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s) N00014-82-K-0715
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS Yale School of Organization and Management Box 1A New Haven, CT 06520		10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS Nr 170-943
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS Organizational Effectiveness Research Program Office of Naval Research; Arlington, VA 22217		12. REPORT DATE July 1985
		13. NUMBER OF PAGES 95
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS(if different from Controlling Office)		15. SECURITY CLASS. (of this report)
		15a. DECLASSIFICATION, DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of this Report)

Approved for public release; distribution unlimited

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT (of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

19. KEY WORDS (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

race relations competence, experiential learning, intergroup theory, evaluation role playing, race alike groups, cross race groups

20. ABSTRACT (Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)

This report provides the theoretical basis for a race relations competence workshop, describes the major elements of the workshop design and analyses the evaluation of the workshop by participants.

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S/N 0102-LF-014-6601

THE RACE RELATIONS COMPETENCE WORKSHOP: AN INTERGROUP

EDUCATIONAL PROCEDURE*

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This concept of race relations competence is the term used to define the understanding and behavior required of black and white managers who are expected to operate in a racially effective manner in a large predominantly white organization. The concept was developed by a race relations advisory group based upon their work experiences and assisted by a four person black-white gender balanced consulting team (Alderfer, Tucker, Alderfer, and Tucker, 1985). The race relations competence workshop is a three day learning activity designed to provide black and white managers with an opportunity to learn the concept.

The workshop is a major element in an overall race relations improvement program (Alderfer, 1985). Initially, the program began with an extensive diagnosis of race relations in management (Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker, and Tucker, 1980). After the diagnosis had been completed and fed back to the system, the corporation committed itself to a ten point action plan in order to improve race relations among their managers. Among the elements of that plan was an agreement to develop and conduct workshops that improve the race relations competence of key managers. As the race relations advisory group worked to formulate the concept of race relations competence, they undertook a variety of learning experiences. At the conclusion of the first phase of their development, they had written a sixteen page race relations competence document and they had gone through a variety of semi-structured exercises and lectures that shaped their ability to complete the document. These activities

were also aimed to assist their overall capacity to work together as a race and gender balanced task group. As it turned out, the race relations competence workshop became a mens to make available the learnings of the advisory group to other managers in the corporation on a comparatively efficient basis.

The aim of this report is to provide a full account of the workshop. Included are the theoretical basis of the design, a detailed description of the concrete activities, and an evaluation of the workshop by participants. The three orientations offer alternative ways to understand the teaching and learning process. Of particular significance is the relationship of the concrete events to the theory, on the one hand, and to the evaluation, on the other. We provide a detailed account of events in the workshop to illustrate how the theory works in practice and to show how the design evokes material from which participants can learn. Comparison of the events as they occur with evaluations taken four weeks later indicates how elements of the workshop affect participants.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE WORKSHOP

Theoretical understanding of the workshop involves interdependency among three classes of concepts. The first is a particular version of intergroup theory,which provides an analytical framework for understanding and a normative basis for changing race relations (Alderfer, 1983; 1985). The workshop was designed in part to convey this intergroup perspective on race relations and in part to demonstrate processes of change. The

second is the concept of race relations competence. Within intergroup theory is the concept of cognitive formations that arise in connection with one's own and other groups. Race relations competence is a new cognitive formation that was consciously developed by a balanced mixed racial group as an element of an overall change program. In other words, to teach and learn about race relations competence in part is to propose and accept a new way of thinking about race relations. Using the word competence is also an important element of the change strategy. Citizens of the United States face a particularly difficult dilemma on the subject of race. The country founded on the principle that "all men are created equal" has a history of three hundred years of inequality, including two hundred years of slavery (Myrdal, 1944). Few white Americans escape some sense of guilt about this situation, and the guilt sets in motion powerful forces of resistance to change. People find it easier to avoid and deny racial realities than to address the subject of race relations directly. By focussing the workshop on race relations competence, we intended to frame the objective as improving their capacity to function as effective organization members rather than emphasizing either their individual or collective guilt. Finally, the third set of concepts pertains to learning by experiential methods (Cooper and Alderfer, 1979; Alderfer and Cooper, 1980). In general, experiential methods call upon people to observe their own behavior as it occurs and to reflect upon the causes and effects of their actions. The learning technology calls on participants to carry out semi-structured exercises in order to generate behavior from which to

learn. Experiential learning methods blend activities planned to evoke certain behaviors with presentations designed to provide conceptual understanding of the experience. Often the conceptual analysis of particular exercises are specific to the activity and do not fit into a larger theory. In the case of this workshop, however, we designed the flow of events to reflect not only a knowledge of experiential methods but also a general theory of interracial group dynamics.

Intergroup Theory and Workshop Design

Intergroup theory as employed here makes individual and group levels of analysis conceptually independent. Practically, this means that one must think separately about individuals, about groups, about the relationship between individuals and groups, and about the relationship among groups. The workshop design was highly conscious of how learning about these different levels of analysis evolved over the course of the three days.

Figure 1 shows a diagram that identifies individual, group, and intergroup levels of analysis as they pertain to an interpersonal transaction between two people. The intrapersonal forces refer to what one normally thinks of as personality dynamics--to needs, values, defenses, characteristic modes of coping, and the like. The workshop brought people in as individuals, but explicitly did not attempt to change personalities. In the argot of the setting, we told people that few organization members are hard-core bigots, and we did not expect those few to change. The intragroup forces refer to the

effects of one's own group on one's feelings, ideas, and
behaviors. In the race relations competence workshop, blacks and
whites were the primary racial groups receiving attention. We
also attended to gender, to hierarchical level, and to department
--but mainly to prevent as much as possible these other group
identifications from interfering with learning about race. The
workshop began by focussing learning at the group level of
analysis. We asked whites to examine with the aid of semi-
structured exercise, what it meant to be a member of the white
group, and we asked blacks in a similar fashion to study what it
meant to be a member of the black group. The intergroup forces refer
to the effects of the relationship among groups, independent of
the individual characteristics of members present when groups
have contact. The workshop took up the subject of intergroup
relationships between blacks and whites only after working on the
topic of intragroup relationships. For many persons, this
strategy may seem counter-intuitive. The workshop, after all,
was concerned with relations between the black and white groups.
Some may even be familiar with exercises that ask people to play
the roles of other group members in order to develop empathy for
the other's frame of reference. Our decision to attend to "own"
group analysis first, however, was theoretically based.
Intergroup relations--and perhaps especially race relations--are
frequently characterized by destructive projective parallel
processes, whereby each group attributes to the other group
characteristics of itself which are undesirable (Alderfer, 1983;
1985). To reduce this tendency and to increase the capacity of
each group to acknowledge its own qualities, we began the

workshop with exercises aimed at the group level of analysis
before taking on exerices directed to intergroup relations. A
focus on interpersonal transactions occurred in each instance
after work at the group level. Thus, we had people address each
other as individuals within each racial group after we had work
in race alike group settings, and we asked individuals to talk to
each other in cross racial encounters after we had activity in
cross race group settings.

Concept of Race Relations Competence

In the language of the corporation, race relations
competence is an element of overall managerial competence.
Managers are expected to carry out their assignments in a manner
that reflects the understandings and behaviors presented in a
document entitled, "Statement on Race Relations Competence as an
Element of Overall Managerial Effectiveness." In the language of
intergroup theory, the concept of race relations competence
represented a means to relate organization groups (i.e., people
at the various steps in the corporate hierarchy) and identity
groups (i.e., blacks and whites). Members of the corporation
serving on the Race Relations Advisory Group developed the
statement based on their racial experience as managers in the
corporation. Thus, the process of producing the Race Relations
Competence Document represented a change in the manner with which
race relations were dealt in the corporation. To write the
document, the advisory group worked in race alike gender alike
subgroups, race alike subgroups, and as a total group. The

finished product showed differences between the racial groups and a joint agreement about the meaning of race relations competence.

The document was written to reflect two key dimensions. The first is the distinction between understandings and behaviors. A manager who is competent in race relations needs to possess certain kinds of knowledge about key issues in race relations and to act in specific ways with respect to racial issues. The document further recognizes the interdependence between thinking and action, acknowledges that blacks and whites give different weights to the elements, and emphasizes that actions have a higher priority that understanding--at least in the short run.

The second distinction differentiates among four supervisory situations--blacks supervising blacks, whites supervising whites, blacks supervising whites, and whites supervising blacks. These four conditions follow directly from intergroup theory and reflect the fact that there are both within group and between group elements to race relations. Some understandings and behaviors apply to several supervisory situations, while others pertain only to single conditions.

We present here excerpts from each section of the race Relations Competence Document:

Blacks Supervising Blacks

I. Understandings

Blacks supervising blacks should develop an understanding of how racism pervades the organization and of the necessity for blacks to adapt to an organization in which different people and perspectives are understood, accepted, and respected.

A. Effects of Institutional Racism

    1. Many managers--both black and white--believe that blacks are placed in nonessential positions. Therefore, they are apt to devalue both the role and the work group of the black manager, especially if all subordinates are black.

    2. Black managers are more likely to overlap work and social life with black subordinates than they are with white subordinates. This may undermine both black-black and black-white work relations.

    ...

II. Behaviors

Blacks supervising blacks should establish themselves as competent authority figures, demand equal competence from blacks as from whites and actively assist in the development of black subordinates.

A. Improved Structures and Behaviors

    1. Black managers must conform to the corporate policy on race relations and accurately communicate information about this policy to subordinates.

    2. Black managers must clearly establish their authority and demand the same respect as white managers.

    ...

Whites Supervising Whites

I. Understandings

Whites supervising whites should develop an understanding of how racism pervades the organization and of the necessity for whites to adapt to an organization in which different people and

perspectives are understood, accepted and respected.

A. Effects of Institutional Racism

    1. Many white managers and their subordinates may be disinterested or opposed to efforts to improve race relations.

    2. Many white managers may display a facade of acceptance, while they are actually opposed or resistant to *efforts* to achieve equity in black-white opportunities. This resistance may take many forms, both overt and covert.

    ...

II. Behaviors

Whites supervising whites should demonstrate their support of equity for both blacks and whites and ensure that their behavior reflects this support. This support should include providing accurate information about corporate policy on race relations, improving structures at work, and taking action to promote the development of their subordinates.

A. Improved Structures and Behaviors

    1. White managers must conform to the corporate policy on race relations and accurately communicate information about this policy to subordinates.

    2. White managers should not condone behavior by whites that undermines effective race relations. They must actively discourage racial joking, racist remarks and other actions that generate non-productive racial tensions.

    ...

Blacks Supervising Whites

I. Understandings

Blacks supervising whites should understand that there are a variety of conditions that will affect their ability to supervise whites. Blacks may be caught between the demands of different racial and social groups. They may have difficulty communicating with white subordinates because of differences in racial and cultural experiences. They may need to develop more self-awareness in order to understand and manage conflict and misunderstanding.

A. Racial and Cultural Differences

    1. In order to survive and advance in the business, blacks must understand the norms of the white setting in which they work. Blacks should anticipate that they will be compared to white role models, and must appreciate the difficulty they will have when their behavior does not conform with white expectations.

    2. White subordinates tend not to understand that there are racial and cultural differences between blacks and whites, and may measure black supervisors or try to understand them from a white point of view. Since whites are viewed as the models, blacks will be judged according to white criteria.

    ...

II. Behaviors

Blacks supervising whites should take positive action to combat organizational racism and develop survival tactics to deal

with the special obstacles faced by blacks.

A. Combating Organizational Racism

1. Black managers must conform to the corporate policy on race relations and accurately communicate information about this policy to subordinates.

2. Black managers should help white subordinates to understand black culture and values so whites can change biased attitudes and correct prejudicial behavior.

...

Whites supervising Blacks

I. Understandings

Whites supervising blacks must develop an understanding of institutional racism and of the many subtle ways that predominantly white systems--both consciously and unconsciously-- produce unfair treatment of black members. Whites supervising blacks must develop an understanding of how differences in race, culture, and group norms complicate black-white interpersonal and work relationships. Whites need to know that they will face special obstacles when evaluating blacks and they will need highly developed self-awareness in order to handle the task competently.

A. Racial and Cultural Differences

1. White managers are usually unaware of, or do not accept, the legitimacy and value of black culture and history. Whites tend to view black behavior from their own racial and ethnic orientation, a pattern that contributes to interracial conflict.

2. White managers should accept the fact that informal patterns of relationships among black managers are different from those among white managers. In fact, fewer class distinctions are made, and there is greater tolerance for diversity and differences.

...

II. Behaviors

Whites supervising blacks must demonstrate their interest and commitment to fairness and equity by displaying behaviors that are conductive to high quality race relations. Thus, whites supervising blacks must work to combat organizational racism and to develop their own survival tactics so they are not rendered impotent for supporting blacks.

A. Combating Organizational Racism

1. White managers must conform to the corporate policy on race relations and accurately communicate information about this policy to subordinates.

2. In order to understand black culture and behavior more accurately, white managers should seek information from sources other than the white media.

...

Experiential Methods for Learning About Race Relations

The use of experiential methods involves decisions about the balance between semi-structured exercises and conceptual presentations, the roles and relationships among staff members, and the structure and process of relationships between staff and participants throughout the workshop.

Experiential learning for an individual takes place through a cyclical process consisting of four ordered phases: active experimentation, concrete experience, reflective observation, and abstract conceptualization (Kolb, 1974). Active experimentation refers to new behaviors undertaken by learners. Concrete experience consists of the results of the new behavior and includes the feelings of the participants, the effects of the behavior on other people, and the reactions of other people to the behavior. Reflective observation involves the participant in stepping back from the events and searching for pattern and meaning in what occurred. Abstract conceptualization refers to the process of developing explanations, formulated in abstract language, for what occurred. The four phases, carried out in the order presented, constitute a complete learning cycle.

The cycle, however, may begin with any of the phases. Most frequently, in designed educational experiences, the cycle begins with either active experimentation or with abstract conceptualization. The difference depends on whether staff believe that learning is aided most by providing participants with the theoretical basis of an activity in advance of asking them to undertake certain behavior or by starting with theory and then inviting people to participate in a semi-structured exercises. Providing theory in advance usually is less disturbing to people but may have the unintended consequence of encouraging people to resist the natural unfolding of events--lest they become "predictable." Starting with an exercise takes participants directly into the concrete experience but may have

the unintended consequence of evoking feelings of being manipulated by staff. In the race relations competence workshop, we generally started the learning cycle with abstract conceptualization because of a widely shared sense that many participants were fearful of how "explosive" race relations could become. Providing the theory in advance gave people a sense of how staff were thinking from the beginning, and, we believe, increased their sense of control over events. As we shall see below, people did criticize the staff for a variety of reasons, but being manipulated typically was not one of them.

The roles and relationships among staff generally receive careful scrutiny by participants in any experiential learning event. In learning about race relations, this observation has all of the normal authority questions and is further complicated by the fact that actions by staff members are viewed by members of their own and by members of the other racial group. Participants will be attentive--both consciously and unconsciously--to what staff say about race relations by their behavior as well as by their words.

Management of staff roles and relationships begins with the composition of the workshop consulting team. Each exec .ion of the workshop described here was conducted by a four person team consisting of a black female, a black male, a white female, and a white male. The race-gender composition of the team reflected the primary subgroups of participants. But merely having race-gender representation by the staff was not sufficient for effective learning. The working relationships among the staff, both during the workshop and outside, were also most important.

Role aspects of the relationship pertain to which staff members took leadership roles at particular points in the workshop and to whether an overall balance among the four emerged. The chief points for initiative by staff members were giving lectures and managing exercises. The workshop included four lectures—one by each staff member. Introductions and conclusions to experiential exercises were evenly divided among the staff. We were also attentive to the connection between the content of lectures and the race-gender of the person giving the talk as well as to the sequence of appearance as lecturers by the staff members.

We assumed that parallel processes would be operating from participants to staff and vice versa(Alderfer, 1983; 1985). Thus, whether intending to or not, staff and participant relationships would be influencing each other. Staff needed to have their own racial relationships in a mutually respectful and discussable form, so effects from staff would not inadvertently interfere with participant learning; this is to prevent unfavorable parallel process effects from staff to participants. In turn, staff had to be able to discuss their own racial reactions during the workshop in order to learn from the experience they were picking up from participants while the workshop was underway. An infrequent, though nonetheless important, aspect of the work was relating to participants who showed evidence of having stress reactions to the workshop. Generally, participants who became disturbed did so in relation to a staff member who was not of their own race or gender. Staff discussed these episodes with one another in meetings, and, if

deemed appropriate by the group, the staff member of the disturbed person's own race and gender would confer with the participant outside workshop events.

Staff worked with participants as lecturers to the total workshop, as individual facilitators in race alike group exercises, as cross race and gender teams in cross race exercises, and as individual facilitators of the total group exercises. Participants worked without staff presence in small race alike groups early in the workshop and without staff presence in small cross race groups later in the workshop. At the end of the second and third days of the workshop, the staff as a full team met with the total participant group to hear and respond to questions and criticisms about their experiences.

In sum, the workshop design was arranged to account for three levels of development: (1) changing relationships within and between black and white racial groups, (2) learning processes of individual workshop members, and (3) natural stages in the life of a workshop that itself operates as a temporary organization.

CONCRETE ELEMENTS OF THE WORKSHOP

The specific elements of the workshop and the order in which they occurred were derived directly from the theoretical considerations presented above. In this section we provide descriptions of each element and explanations about why the part was included where it was. Figure 2 provides a schematic presentation of the three day flow of events.

Preparation in Advance of the Workshop

In advance of the workshop participants were recruited by the director of Human Resources. A variety of criteria for inviting people to attend were employed. Initially managers at the top of the hierarchy and others who served on corporate personnel committees were invited. Later volunteers from the corporation were permitted to attend. Several members of the board of directors also attended. No one was formally required to participate, but it was also clear that the program had strong endorsement from the most senior authorities. Senior managers were clearly under considerable informal pressure to attend. The workshop design was based on an adequate number of black and white participants. The ratio of black to white participants ranged from 1:2 to 1:2.5. The total number of people in a workshop ranged from 28 to 66. Efforts were also made to balance the hierarchy of black and white participants. Because the number of middle and upper black managers was limited when the program began, some black managers attended the program more than once. These people frequently reported that they learned as much--if not more--the second time as the first. We believe that whites too might have benefitted from attending more than once, but since the workshop design depended on an adequate ratio of blacks to whites and the number of blacks was limited, no attempt to have whites attend more than once was made.

Each participant who signed up for a specific workshop in advance received a brief reading assignment consisting of two items. The first article was a synopsis of the race relations diagnosis written from both black and white perspectives. In

format this piece was written as two columns--one black and the other white. The same "facts" were presented both places, but in one instance they were interpretted from a white perspective and in the other from a black perspective. This document was prepared by a team of black and white writers from the corporate communications group, who worked with the race relations advisory group. The purposes of the article were to show workshop participants why the corporation decided to have such a workshop and to introduce the idea that diverse racial groups could interpret the same information differently. The second item was a copy of the Race Relations Competence Document with an assignment to read the document and complete a self-rating on each section that pertained to oneself. People mailed back one copy of their answers and kept the other. In the workshop itself a chart showing the mean and range of answers to each section was presented for participants to observe.

Day One

During the morning of the first day, the purpose of the activities was to introduce people to the workshop and set the stage for the entire three days' work.

The first event was a brief statement of welcome by the director of Human Resources. He described the history of the program, stated the purpose of the workshop, presented the concept of dialectic between black and white perspectives, stated the corporate philosophy behind the program, and introduced the consulting team. This activity served to provide coroporate legitimacy for the workshop and to transfer authority

for the event to the consultants. In the first phase of the program, this speaker was a white male. Later, reflecting changes in the corporation the position was filled by a black male.

The first lecture of the program, entitled "Intergroup Relations and Racism," was then presented by the white male consultant. The lecture explained the most basic ideas of intergroup theory by the use of Figure 1, conducted a group discussion of racism based on an especially graphic example of an event that had happened to a black manager in the corporation, and provided a definition of the several dimensions of racism. The lecturer also reviewed the flow of events for the entire workshop using Figure 2 and explained how the design was a direct outgrowth of the theory. From the perspective of the theory, it was most important that the white male give the lecture on racism in order to set the tone of the dominant identity group introducing and acknowledging the existence of collective racism.

The next event was a series of small group discussions of the lecture. People were first asked to talk about their reactions to the lecture in race alike groups and then in cross race groups. These brief discussions illustrated the use of the types of groups to be used throughout the workshop, provided participants the opportunity to work on feelings generated by the opening lecture, and served as a test of ideas from intergroup theory as people had a chance to examine their own reactions in race-alike and cross-race groups.

People returned from the small group discussions to a

lecture on "Thinking and Feeling," delivered by the black female consultant. This talk made the distinction between thinking and feeling, examined the reasons why people misuse the terms, presented illustrations of incorrect useage of the terms from race relations, and invited people to report instances of thinking and feeling from the two group discussions just completed. The lecture concluded by telling people that we were now about to begin the race alike portion of the workshop and then asked them to have lunch in race alike groups. Frequently, this instruction was followed by a semi-joking question as to whether both racial groups received the same food. In terms of lecture content, it was not crucial for the concepts of thinking and feeling to be conveyed by a black woman. What was crucial, however, was to balance in time a lecture given by a white man with one delivered by a black woman. Thus, by the end of the morning, the participants had seen a microcosm of the consulting team just as they had seen a microcosm of the workshop events.

Lunch served to separate the entry phase of the workshop from the next portion which ran from the afternoon of the first day through the morning of the second amd was devoted to work in race alike groups.

The afternoon of the first day consisted of two exercises for each race alike group. The first was identical for both groups, and the second was different for each group. During this period consultants worked with their own racial groups, and participants learned from the outset that their products from race alike discussions would be shared later in the workshop as

part of cross race discussions.

Both racial groups began the afternoon's work by compiling two lists of descriptors about their own racial groups. Their instructions stated, "Complete the statements, [My group is ...' and [My group should be...' with a series of phrases or words. Individuals initially worked alone making notes about their own thoughts and then met in small groups to develop their collective judgements. The group to which they were told to refer was white people in the corporation. Usually there were two black groups and four white groups carrying out the exercise. Groups were left to their own decisions about what processes they used to combine items from individual notes to small group products.

The emotional reaction to this exercise often varied between the two groups. On average, whites did not like the exercise, while blacks showed no objection to it. Whites were more reluctant to accept the notion that they were a group than were blacks, and thus the activity made more sense to blacks than to whites--at least initially. Because work was done in small groups working independently, the circumstances provided a test for whether the answers that were produced showed evidence for groupness among whites as well as among blacks. One sign of difference between the two was the decision-making process. Blacks ususally worked for consensus among their members before an item was placed on the group list. Whites, on the other hand, were more likely simply to transfer individual items to the group list or to use a rule that as long as several people--though by no means everyone--agreed, the item appeared.

Regardless of how they were achieved, however, the lists

tended to converge in content for each of the two racial groups. Characteristic items form the black groups'IS LIST included: talented, biased, underutilized, intelligent, less powerful. Characteristic items from the white groups' IS LIST included: powerful, anxious about change, ambitious, insecure about jobs, status conscious, dedicated, ignorant of black culture, superior, prejudiced. Characteristic items from the black groups' SHOULD BE LIST included: more powerful, larger, more communicative with blacks and whites, recognized for achievements and constructively criticized, less trusting. Characteristic items from the white groups' SHOULD BE LIST included: willing to change, more accepting of differences, creative, compassionate, less status conscious, more assertive. In general, the black IS LIST tended to have a slightly more favorable tone than the comparable white list. Both groups tended to acknowledge their biases on racial matters. Blacks tended to see more need for change in the system than in themselves, while whites tended to see more need for change in themselves than in the system.

During the second portion of the afternoon, the two racial groups carried out different exercises. The separate activities were created to reflect the fact that the groups entered the processes of change from different origins. For blacks, the chief question was how to survive in the predominantly white organization. For whites, the chief question was what is in it for whites to change. The black group identified the problems they faced in attempting to survive in the corporation and then generated solutions. Characteristic problems included: limited

carry over of race relations ideas to the workplace, insufficient
number of blacks in policy making positions, feedback to black
managers of minimal value for learning, informal information
networks concentrated on whites. Characteristic solutions
included: becoming more assertive collectively about negative
racial situations, joining together more effectivedly to
understand promotion processes, confronting individual managers
in order to get more thorough and helpful feedback, letting
senior management know of interest in challenging assignments.
Instructions to the white group emphasized the importance of
being honest in assessing the costs and benefits to them of
improving race relations. Whites were also encouraged to give
some thought to what they meant by "improving race reltions."
When whites explicitly addressed the question of what improved
race relations meant, their answer usually was phrased in terms
of reduced tension, improved trust, and easier communication.
Characteristic costs to whites in the corporation from improving
race relations included: reduced opportunities for whites to be
promoted, decreased power for white group, too much effort and
expense required to make the change, and fear of the unknown new
condition. Characteristic benefits to whites in the corporation
from improving race relations included: improved working
relationships, reduction of stress from racial tensions, cultural
enrichment and creativity, increased productivity, greater sense
of health for the whole organization, increased sense of fairness
and morality.

The close of the first afternoon took place in race alike
groups. At this point in the workshop, blacks and whites often

showed different reactions. Blacks generally appeared satisfied and hopeful. Whites, on the other hand, were often lethargic and depressed.

Day Two

The morning of the second day began with the total group meeting together to hear a lecture from the white female consultant about the theory and methods of role playing. The theory portion of the lecture focussed primarily on the relationship between self and role. Roles were designed to capture typical event in the racial life of the corporation and to allow plenty of opportunity for individuals to bring their own interpretation to the situations. The lecture alerted people to the opportunities and hazards of volunteering for the roles and explained how the structure of the role playing exercise was designed to encourage learning and minimize risks.

Role plays began with two people volunteering to be the boss and the subordinate in the situation. Next each volunteer was asked to invite two people to serve as her or his support system. The invited support people could accept or refuse. Occassionally, people did refuse. The remaining participants served as observers--keeping silent during the fifteen minutes of the role playing episode and reporting their perceptions after the role players and support people gave their reactions. The lecture emphasized the importance of the observers' being supportive, because the role players were taking risks for the benefit of everyone's learning. To assist with keeping a distinction between self and role, the role players received a blank card on which they wrote a fictitious name and a second

card identifying their roles as either "boss" or "subordinate."
Observers were instructed to talk about the role player in her or
his fictitious name. Role players, in turn, removed their name
cards when the episode was over and referred to their character
rather then to their own names when describing their reactions.
Role players and their support people had a ten minute period to
prepare for the role, while observers analyzed the role players
options and predicted potential courses of action. When the role
players reconvened with their support people and the observers,
time was given to clarifying and agreeing on assumptions about
"facts that would be known in real life" such as education,
department, seniority, and location of the meeting. This
eliminated the tendency for participants to deal with key issues
by strategic use of facts rather by talking about the issues with
each other. Role players then had a three minute startup period,
after which they were asked to confer with their support people
in the room. After that, the remaining twelve minutes could be
broken as much or as little for conferences as the role players
jointly agreed. The role players also could end sooner than the
allotted time, if they wished. Mostly people got the work done
in the time allowed. A few ended early, and a few received an
abrupt termination by the staff members.

The debriefing process began with role players describing
their expeiences, moved next to the support people, and concluded
with the observers. The entire discussion period was managed by
one of the consultants, who refered back to points contained in
the lecture as needed to assist people in learning from the

experience without provoking unproductive stress. Generally, the
role plays produced very rich experiences for all involved--
including the observers. Commonly, people reported interestingly
different perceptions as a function of their roles (player,
support, observer), their races, and their actual position in the
corporate hierarchy.

Black Supervising Other Black People

Situation 1. Black supervisor insists that black
subordinate must not only meet white standards, but must exceed
them--form the subordinate's own good.

This role play situation combines two classes of tensions.
The first consists of normal boss-subordinate pressures. A boss
who is fully alligned with corporate objectives tries to get as
much performance quality from his subordinate as is possible.
The subordinate, on the other hand, may have additional goals
beyond sole attention to corporate goals and, therefore, may
withhold energy and commitment for these other ends. The
second tension pertains to race relations in the corporation. In
a predominantly white organization, both boss and subordinate are
likely to believe that the corporation treats them and their
racial group unfairly. Both people must, therefore, deal with
their own ambivalence between the desire to succeed in the system
and the desire to protest against the system. The role play
becomes an arena for showing how each person independently and
the two together cope with the two classes of tension.

Role players vary in how aware they are of the two classes

of tensions as well as how they cope with the conflicts. A boss
who is unaware of the conflict and simply identifies with
corporate goals will have difficulty with a subordinate who
wishes to discuss the unfairness of the system. A subordinate
who does not see the corporate needs for performance--despite
racial inequitites--will have difficulty with a boss who presses
for improved performance. The isue of awareness influences the
openness and receptivity of both subordinate and boss duirng
their discussion.

Methods for coping with the conflicts, in part, depend on
what each one believes about the effectiveness of accomodation
versus conflict as means to change stable social systems. The
accomodation strategy argues that blacks must work twice as hard
as whites to get equivalent recognition becuase of biases in the
system. The conflict strategy assumes that protest and demand
are effective tools for redressing grievances in the corporation.
These two strategies apply both to how the role players explain
the system and to how they deal with each other.

When supervisors are aware of both elements in the conflict,
they can explain the need for extra effort on the part of the
subordinate, and they can accept the subordinate's
understandable resistance to "working twice as hard" as whites
who have comparable responsibilities. The boss operating from
this perspective will state her or his belief that blacks must
work twice as hard as whites to achieve the same level of
recognition and to advance in their careers. The subordinate is
likely to resist this idea at first and to express indignation at
what he or she views as an unfair system. The aware boss can

accept the subordinate's view of the sytem's being unfair and remind the subordinate that he or she has two options: to either "buy in" or "buy out" of the system. If the subordinate seems receptive, then the black supervisor turns to telling the subordinate how the system works, how power is exercised, and how promotions are decided. The aim is to help the subordinate change from a purely expressive mode of response to an instrumental strategy for pursuing career goals. In this process, the black manager hopes the subordinate will develop a proactive state of mind that will help her or him manage relationships in a way that aids recognition, influence, and career enhancement.

When the role play unfolds according to this version, boss and subordinate also tend to discuss survival strategies for black managers. The boss recognizes that since blacks and whites have different experiences with the system, blacks have to develop skills that protect them personally and professionally. Bosses suggest that black managers must learn to play the game according to white rules, if they expect to do well in a system dominated by white norms. The conversation tends to raise issues for subordinates regarding the extent to which they want to buy into a system that they believe routinely treats blacks unfairly. One side of this issue is that blacks often have to make compromises in order to get into a position to change the system. The other side is that as blacks progress within the organization, they may become disinclined to change the system.

A supervisor who is unaware of the dual conflict tends to

respond to the situation by indicating that the work of the
subordinate is not really up to par and by denying that he or she
is placing extra demands on the subordinate. The subordinate is
likely to resist the notion that her or his work is not adequate.
Often, the boss eventually admits that the subordinate's work is
acceptable and then begins to explain why blacks must work harder
in order to prove themselves. At this point, the exchange
becomes more wary, and trust breaks down. The interchange
escalates and takes on qualities of a contest to determine who is
right and who is wrong. The subordinate may demand reperations,
threaten to quit, or ask for a transfer. The boss may respond by
explaining how a transfer can be effected. When the role play
unfolds in this manner, both parties tend to leave the events
with bad feelings.

When boss and subordinate are able to discuss both the
organizational and the racial aspects of the conflict, the two
are likely to emerge from the exchange with a stronger, more
committed relationship. They demonstrate to each other and to
other observers that their relationship can serve the organization
and themselves. When the boss and subordinate are unable to
discuss both elements of their difficutly, then their
relationship becomes polarized. The subordinate may see the boss
as someone who "sold out" to the corporation, and the boss may
see the subordinate as someone who is unable to control her or
his expressive needs enough to become an effective manager.

Situation 2. The black subordinate makes clear that he or
she expects to "get a break" from the black supervisor... "After
all, we are in this together and you know how much harrassment we

get from white managers...you owe me that much."

This role playing situatin involves in important initiative
from subordinate to the boss that calls for each to demonstrate
how her or his racial identity affects her or his corporate role
and vice versa. The subordinate's request could be a signal that
he or she wants the boss to undermine her or his corporate
authority in the name of racial commitment. The subordinate's
question could also be a request for the boss to acknowledge
their common racial identity and to act in accord with their
common fate in a predominantly white corporation. The boss'
response, in turn, depends on how he or she relates the use of
authority to racial issues in the corporation.

A key factor in how the role playt unfolds is what the
subordinate means by "get a break." The first view allows the
subordinate to come in late, leave early, take excessive time
off, get indefinite extensins on deadlines, and in general to do
less work than white counterparts. The second definition
provides the subordinate with high visibility assignments, top
priority for training, key opportunities for conference travel,
and important membership on committees as part of a grooming
process. These alternatives have different implications for
combining organizational and racial group objectives.

The boss' response may be to rebuff the question directly or
to engage in an educational and conciliatory dialogue. A direct
rebuff tends to take the form of emphasizing organizational
responsibilities and calling forth the concept of "objective"
performance evaluation. The boss declines to show favoritism and

refuses to establish different standards for black and wite subordinates. Instead, the supervisor tells the subordinate what performance standards are for the job and discusses the consequences of failing to meet those standards.

Often the boss may attempt to help the subordinate understand why exceptions cannot be made and how important it is for the subordinate to be on time, hand in quality work, and so on. The supervisor may attempt to take someof the sting off of these strong declarations by indicating that he or she is willing to grant limited extensions on work due, if there are extenuating circumstances. The boss further states that all supervisory decisions will be based on objective criteria.

The more educational and conciliatory response involves the bosses agreeing that black subordinates should receive top priority when *professoinal development* opportunities become available. They reason that blacks are often placed on jobs with the expectation that they will fail, that blacks often miss the informal training opportunities available to whites, and, as a result, that requests for development opportunities are reasonable and justifiable. White granting these requests, however, the boss often states that the subordinate is expected to maintain a reasonable level of performance in order to be considered for professional development opportunities.

Black supervisors tended to avoid giving black subordinates special treatment in other than the area of training, however. Black supervisors refuesed to allow subordinates to come in late, to leave early, or to take excessive time off. No black supervisor agreed to give a black subordinate unlimited time to

complete tasks. Black bosses who ae conscious of organizational racism, however, did show a willingness to extend deadlines on a limited basis, when the reasons for delay included such factors as absence of peer support, delay in receiving necessary information, and lack of adequate relationships with key people-- all variables that could be explained by the subtle operation of racial forces.

In a predominantly white corporation, black bosses who perceive the effects of racism predict that both blacks and whites will expect black managers to show favoritism toward black people. Black managers who attempt to be even-handed find it difficult to compensate for the effects of racial bias without being perceived by whites as showing favoritism. Fearing the negative effects of being perceived as showing favoritism to blacks, black bosses may publicly chastite black suboridnates or privately place extra performance demands on them.

The more inclined that a black supervisor is to define herself or himself as black, the more likely he or she is to respond to subordinate requests for extra assistance that enhances performance. To survive and remain effective in a predominantly white corporation, however, black managers need open relationships with white people in which the subjects of race and racial bias can be discussed. Black bosses who can integrate their corporate roles with a clear black racial identity recommend that subordinats take initiatives to build and maintain relationships with white people by having lunch, engaging in social activities, and the like.

White People Supervising Other White People

Situation 1. A white middle manager supervises a staff of seven lower level managers. Six of the subordinates are White and one is Black. Prior to a promotion six months earlier, the supervisor had been a peer and close friend of one of her or his subordinates. When the middle manager became interested in the race relations project and told her or his subordinate-friend that he or she is considering volunteering to serve on the Race Relations Advisory Group, the subordinate-friend gives her or him a perplexed look and says, "Why do you want to do that? Don't they have enough already? If you work on that committee, you will contribute to reverse discrimination, and help Blacks get jobs that we should get."

This role-play situation includes a number of key tensions. The racial issues at stake are tied to the natural conflict between the friendship and boss-subordinate aspects of their relationship. From the suboridnate's side, the question is whether the boss will remain true to the friendship. From the boss's side, the question is whether the subordinate will begin to face up to her or his negative racial attitudes. In this set of circumstances, both parties have reasons to become emotional. The subordinate has an option of recalling times when the two went drinking and complained together about the undeserved advances blacks were making. The subordinate may recall times when the two of them told racial jokes at the expense of blacks. He or she could come to the meeting wondering why the boss suddenly, "got religion." The suspicion, of course

is that the boss is not genuinely in favor of improved race relations at all, but rather is reading the political winds at the top of the corporation. The subordinate may also be concerned about the next promotion from their group. Based on a view of the boss's motivations as primarily political, the subordinate might imagine that the black member of their group will be the next person the boss recommends for promotion-- whether or not the black person had earned the endorsement. The friend, with or without awareness, may have been assuming that, if racial dimensions were not considered, the boss automatically would become an advocate for the friend when the next promotion becomes available.

As the role play begins, the boss has a choice about whether to start out by listening or by explaining. The listening response would start with words like, "I understand you have some concerns about the possibility of my volunteering for the race relations advisory group. I would like to hear what your thoughts and feelings are." The explaining response would start with words like, I know you have some doubts about my joining the Race Relations Advisory Group, and I want to tell you why I am looking into this possibility." Another option available to the boss is deciding whether to play the consummate organizational politician or a person who has genuine commitments to improving race relations. If the boss decides to be someone with commitments to change, he or she will face questions of credibility from the friend. Generally, the subordinate-friend has trouble seeing the boss as someone with motivations for change. The most frequent response is to experience the boss as condescending and

disingenuous. An important choice for the boss is whether he or
she acknowledges that the relationship between the two included
episodes of joint complaining about blacks. Without this, bosses
do not have much chance of being perceived as genuine in their
motivations. Few people in the boss role select this option.
The boss also has a choice about whether to accept the
subordinate's definition of the situation. Another possibility
is that the boss could explain her or his joining the committee in
order to represent and protect the interests of white people.
This alternative is fully in accord with the purposes of the Race
Relations Advisory Group, although it is infrequently employed by
role-players.

The subordinate in this case is clearly portrayed as someone
who resists the idea of improving the race relations. The boss
faces the question of whether to talk with the subordinate about
her or his attitudes and, if so, in what manner. Beginning with
the listening orientation, the boss has the possibility of the
subordinate discovering that he or she may have something to
learn about race relations. A gentle form of this intervention
might have the boss saying, after a period of active listening,
"You know, John or Mary, it occurs to me that you might want to
attend the corporate Race Relations Competence Workshop. I've
been there, and I've found it to be a most interesting
experience--although clearly no piece of cake. The program lasts
three consecutive days, and I would be glad to arrange for you to
be relieved from your regular duties in order to attend." A more
assaultive orientation would be for the boss to say, as the

dialogue unfolds, "You know, Mary or John, I am beginning to
believe that you really do have a problem with race relations. I
am going to sign you up for the next workshop, and I want you to
go." Or, "You know, Mary or John, I do think you have a racial
problem. If it doesn't improve, I am going to make a note about
it in your personnel file."

Heightening emotion for the subordinate is most likely to
occur around the issue of the friendship. The key questions are
how much the subordinate begins to feel betrayed by the boss-
former friend and how explicitly the subordinate expresses the
feelings. A gentler version might go, "You know, Peter or
Louise, I am beginning to wonder just how important our friend-
ship is to you. I believe this stuff you're telling me is just
company baloney--good for organizational politics, bad for our
friendship." The more explosive version might take the form,
"Louise or Peter, what you are saying is just plain bullshit. I
can see what[s become of you. You have soldout on our friendship
to advance your career in the organization. I've had enough of
you|" At this point, the subordinate-former friend may get up
and leave the setting to simulate walking out of the boss's
office in real life. When this occurs, the observers are likely
to break into applause.

This role play situation has some tendency to split emotions
and rationality between subordinates and boss. From the lower
position, the subordinate is likely to carry the full force of
the feelings evoked by the multiple conflicts contained in the
episode. The boss, in turn, is likely to fulfill the control
function. As the real-life role-players come from higher organi-

zational positions, the social consensus is more likely to state
that if the boss must sacrifice the friendship to retain her or
his authority, so be it.

Situation 2. A white middle manager supervises a staff of
seven lower level managers. Six of these subordinates are White,
and one is Black. The White supervisor has two high performing
subordinates, one White and one Black. The supervisor has
considered each for promotion to a single opening, but decides to
recommend the Black subordinate because he or she is slightly
better qualified for the position. After deliberations by the
appropriate personnel committee, the Black subordinate
.subsequently gets the promotion. Now the White boss must speak
to the White subordinate and discuss her or his performance,
including why he or she did not get the promotion. It would be
easy to blame EEO quotas, but the supervisor knows that the Black
suboridnate is actually the more qualified of the two.

The major tensions in this situation turn on what meaning
boss and subordinate give to the phrase, "slightly better
qualified for the position," and whether the two decide to talk
directly about the racial dimensions of the episode. People vary
on whether they take the issue of qulifications as "objective
fact" and therefore beyond dispute or simply as euphemism
designed to frustrate questions about the decision. Bosses
prefer the notion that the qualification differences are clear,
yet they vary in whether the concrete indicators chosen make the
criterion unambiguous. Both parties recognize that the terms,
"top performers," mean that a decision between the two was

difficult. In addition, the boss faces a situation in which he or she does not want to communicate a message that is discouraging to her or his best subordinate. In this episode, both parties are ambivalent about addressing the racial dimensions. For many white bosses, the fact that the black subordinate was "...better qualified" means that, "It is not a racial issue." Subordinates, however, tend to have a harder time dismissing the racial dimensions as readily--even if they accept the idea that on some objective basis the black person was better suited for the job. Rather the question for subordinate is less whether race was relevant--they tend to believe it was--but whether they can get the boss to acknowledge it or whether they have to bring up the subject themselves. In this situation, subordinates become concerned lest they ruin their chances for future promotions by behaving in a manner that causes the boss to become uncomfortable. The position of the subordinate frequently moves to trying to extract promises of support from the boss for the next opening that becomes available.

As a result of separate forces acting on the boss and subordinate, the two can wittingly or unwittingly carry out this role play without ever explicitly talking about the racial dimensions of the situation. In the debriefing period, we learn that bosses do not bring up the subject because they believe it would be needlessly volatile. Careful listening suggests that the bosses believe--perhaps unconsciously--that if they talked about race, they would make risk their own authority. In a complementary manner, subordinates believe that if they bring up

the subject of race, it will be held against them. The two often engage in a kind of verbal fencing match in which each tries to induce the other to discuss the subject of race. The subordinate may try to discount any qualities that the boss suggests might differentiate between the candidates. The boss, in turn, may try to make a case in support of his decision that has no possible basis other than job qualifications. When boss and subordinate do carry out the role play without discussing race, they often feel satisfied and successful at the close of the episode. Usually, this particular outcome is achieved in less than the allowed time for the role play--implicitly suggesting that the two could not afford to talk too long about the subject. Yet often the immediately favorable reaction is short-lived. The subordinate realized that not discussing the racial dimensions of the situation left her or him convinced that the boss did decide in favor of the other person because of race. Many subordinates also indicate that they would be likely to give their views of the matter to peers. Then a major insight often occurs. Both role players, their support people, and the observers realize that they have just gone through a process of cooperatively denying the relevance of race in a workshop devoted to the subject of race. This is often a powerful experience for all, who may then say, "If we do that here in the safety of the workshop where the explicit purpose is to learn about race, what do we do back on the job?|?" The answer is pretty clear.

The instructions for lunch on the second day invited people to eat in cross race groups. This begun the process of bringing together the two racial groups for group level interracial

discussion. At the conclusion of lunch, the final race alike activity took place.

When people returned from lunch, they received typed lists that recorded the written products from the activities carried out by the black and white groups during the previous afternoon. After having time to study the material, the groups were asked to develop a three to five point agenda for discussion in the upcoming cross race meeting. The consultants acted as scribes during this period and recorded the groups' wishes on flipcharts. Sample agenda items from the black group include: Explain why the white group is superior. How does the white group being powerful relate to feeling insecure about jobs? Does "dedicated" in the white group list imply that the black group is not? Sample agenda items from the white group include: Why should the black group become less trusting? Won't that make things worse? The black group list seems more positive, and the group seemed to laugh a lot more than the whites while making the lists. Do blacks have more fun? Why aren't white people allowed to join the Black Managers Association? Isn't this reverse discrimination? Two copies of each agenda were made, and one of each was carried to the two cross race meetings.

When people arrived in the cross race meeting room, they were given time to walk around, observe the lists, and talk informally with one another. Then one of the consultants indicated that they would be meeting together for approximately two hours to discuss both groups' agenda and whatever emerged spontaneously from the group. The consultants' job would be to

facilitate the process of the discussion, and to alert the group when ten minutes remained in the discussion period. Several heuristics governed the consultants' behavior during the cross race meeting. First, consultants attended primarily to the behavior of their own racial group. Especially on matters where members were asked to engage in some form of self-scrutiny, the consultant from the same racial group made the intervention. Clearly supportive cross group interventions might occur, and, later in the session, confrontational comments might be made across the groups. But generally speaking, consultants operated on the assumption that their own racial group affected how they listened and how they were perceived. Second, consultants attended primarily to matters in the here-and-now. The cross race discussion groups were not intended to be settings for people to teach or learn in the abstract. People were encouraged to keep the discussion focussed on their own experience--either on the job or in the workshop.

The cross race discussion groups, by and large, were intense sessions. Neither group tended to select "easy" agenda items, and the topics of discussion generally had strong feelings associated with them. The activities tended to produce the highest overall sense of learning when people did stay focussed on their own experience. A variety of hazards, however, did occur and impeded the most favorable kind of learning. Sometimes a group developed a pattern of "blacks teaching whites" about race relations. In the most extreme form, this pattern might involve a senior black member giving almost a lecture on some topic such as The Black Family in the United States. In the short

term, this kind of event often proved satisfying to blacks and
whites. Without question, the talks tended to be interesting,
and they also solved the anxiety provoking problems of what the
group would discuss and who would be in charge. But inevitably,
if such discussions lasted more than 10-15 minutes, people became
bored and restless and commented later that they didn't think
the group accomplished much. Another kind of difficulty arose
when a participant became frozen on a particular point of view,
seemed unable to listen to any other points of view, and insisted
on repeating her or his opinion. This pattern occurred among
both black and white participants. A black member, for example,
might become upset by a white person's saying something like, "I
don't understand why 'you people'..." Having expressed the
related feeling and having received an empathic response, the
person might persistently bring the discussion back to the event.
A white member, on the other hand, might show a similar pattern
of being upset about, for example, whites being excluded from the
Black Managers Association. Even after the issue was addressed
and the rationale explained, the person might continue to repeat
her or his concern. Consultant interventions to break these
patterns often helped, but sometimes, they did not. On the
whole, approximately fifty percent of the large cross race discussions
resulted in the participants feeling immediately thereafter that
the effort had been fruitful.

The close of the second day was carried out as a total
workshop meeting with the staff sitting in the front of the room
inviting questions and comments from participants about how

things were going. This activity occurred immediately after the cross race discussions and frequently served as a forum for people to compare notes about what had happened in the separate cross race groups and to continue the work. The most frequently voiced criticism during this period was from white people indicating that too much time had been spent in race alike groups. Generally, black people did not share that opinion, and exploring why the groups evidenced different views often produced additional opportunities for learning.

Day Three

The morning of the third day began with the total group meeting together in order to carry out cross race role plays. The first of these—Whites Supervising Blacks—was led by the white male consultant, and the second—Blacks Supervising Whites—was led by the black female consultant. In the first of the role plays, participants were asked to select support people from their own racial group. In the second, role players were permitted to have support people from both racial groups.

White People Supervising Black People

Situation. A white middle manager supervises a staff of seven second level subordinates, five White and two Black. The White manager has a Black subordinate whose performance is not up to standards. The manager is afraid to give the subordinate a negative performance appraisal because he or she is fearful that it will have a negative effect on her or his affirmative action record. The subordinate senses that her or his performance has

not pleased the boss but is uncertain about the reasons. It
seems to the subordinate that the boss is guarded around her or
him, almost as if the boss is afraid of the subordinate.
Finally, however, they agree to meet and discuss how things are
going on the job.

In this situation, both parties have a key choice about how
directly to address the problems in their relationship. From the
boss' side, there is no doubt that the subordinate is not
performing adequately as perceived by the boss and that the boss'
behavior is being limited by fear. The role description leaves
no ambiguity on these points. The boss, therefore, must decide
how explicit to be about the performance problem as well as the
fear and its effect on their relationship. From the
subordinate's side, the decision is slightly more uncertain.
Perceiving that one's performance has displeased the boss is not
the same as knowing why the boss is unhappy. The option for the
subordinate is whether to let the boss know that the subordinate
is aware that the boss has not been pleased. The role play is
structured so that both parties are potentially vulnerable--the
boss for not meeting sooner to talk about the performance
problem, the subordinate for not going to the boss to find out
what was wrong.

In preparing for the role play, the boss decides about the
relative weight to be given to the performance problem and the
relationship difficulties. The boss may emphasize the
performance problem and make light of the relationship
difficulties, give each problem about equal weight, or focus on
the relationship difficulty and make light of the performance

problem. Bosses vary in how objectively irrefutable they make the performance problem. "You have missed the due dates on three consecutive reports." Or, "I am getting feedback that several of your clients are less than satisfied with your performance for them." Depending on how the boss formulates the performance problem, he or she affects how much responsibility is given exclusively to the subordinate.

Bosses also vary in how fully they talk about the relationship issues. One line is for the boss to take some responsibility for the difficulties without addressing her or his fear directly. The boss may indicate that he or she has not spent enough time with the subordinate and explain this as a consequence of factors beyond the boss' control. For example: "I am really sorry that we have not been able to sit down and talk about the job, but lately, I've just been swamped." The boss may also directly acknowledge the reasons why he or she has avoided talking to the subordinate. "Frank or Mary, I have been concerned about your performance for sometime, but quite honestly, I have been reluctant to talk with you about it. Many white managers believe that if you give negative feedback to a black subordinate, you get a bad mark on your affirmative action record--especially if the black employee decides to file a discrimination complaint." Managers rarely adopt themore direct approach to the role. Before the role play begins, participants evaluate the boss unfavorably, and sometimes a long delay occurs before someone volunteers for the part. Participant often think the boss has the harder role to play. As one highly seasoned

veteran put it, "Who wants to be a wimp boss?!?"

The subordinate faces a similar choice about the relative emphasis to give to the performance and relationship aspects of the situation. On the performance dimension, the subordinate may act defensively or receptively. For example: "It's hard for me to know how I am doing, if you do not meet with me and provide feedback." Or, "I'm glad that you have decided to meet with me. I've sensed that you may be unhappy with things I am doing or not doing." On the racial dimensions of the relationship, the subordinate may avoid them entirely, address them directly, or talk about them directly. Statements that reflect each of these options include: "I was aware that we had not met to talk about my performance but had not thought much about why." Or, "I was wondering whether the fact that you had not yet had a discussion with me about my performance had anything to do with my being black and your being white." Or even more forcefully, "Are you afraid of me because I am black?"

Bosses tend to prepare a defense against the subordinate's suggestion that race may have something to do with what is happening between them. A common form this takes is to identify the other black employee in the group and to mention at the aprpopriate time that this person is doing well or "has no problems." Another strategy that bosses sometimes take to escape the tensions of the situation is to play ineffectuality to the fullest. This approach involves making minimal commitments and avoiding any signs of conflict. For example: "Oh, I know we have not met, but you know how things are... By the way, I am pleased that things are going so well for you. There is just

this minor thing. Could you see that... I am glad we could have

such a good talk today." This kind of talk may be completed within

less than the alotted time for the role play--thereby further

insuring that a little opportunity develops to examine either

performance or relationship thoroughly. When bosses take this

orientation, subordinates are almost helpless, and observers

often clap knowingly for the performance. Many know this style

of managing difficult issues from personal experience.

In advance of this role play, we often ask the observers to

predict whether the role players will explicitly discuss the

subject of race. Almost everytime, they say with certainty that

the topic of race will be discussed. Sometimes, they predict

that the boss will bring up the subject, but more often, they

expect the subordinate to take the initiative. Whites see the

boss as weak and vulnerable and expect the subordinate to exploit

the situation. Blacks, on the other hand, tend to be more aware of

the subordinate's dependency on the boss and view the issue of

bringing up the subject of race in a more contingent and cautious

manner. In this managerial culture, the widely held belief is

that performance problems should be dealt with independently of

race, and the boss should not be afraid of the subordinate's

bringing a complaint. Often, however, the role playing episode

is carried out without either party directly mentioning the

subject of race. In the post role play discussion, the entire

mixed race workshop usually recognizes--with notable discomfort--

that direct discussion of race was avoided. When a role play

with clearly identified racial issues is executed by black and

white participants with black and white support systems, and the
subject of race is not discussed, the meaning of the avoidance is
usually very powerful.

Black People Supervising White People

Situation. A Black middle manager supervises a group of six
lower level White managers and one Black manager. An important
lateral assignment becomes available. The two best performers
are the black subordinate and one of the white subordinates. The
boss decides to recommend the black subordinate because he or she
believes that additional opportunities will be more readily
available to the white subordinate. The white subordinate sets
up a meeting to discuss why he or she was not selected.

This conversation contains potential pitfalls for both
subordinate and boss. Each has the possibility of damaging their
relationship. From the boss' side, a top performer may become
demotivated because he or she feels unfairly treated. From the
subordinate side, the boss may change her or his mind about the
subordinate's value, if he or she objects too stenuously to the
boss' decision. In this context, each must decide how direct to
be in talking about the weight given to race in determining the
decision.

For the boss, the crucial phrase is, "you believe additional
opportunities will be more readily available to your white
subordinate." One meaning given to these words is taken wholly
from the "objective" facts of the two subordinates' careers. The
interpretation creates a job history for the black subordinate

such that he or she is more fitted for the lateral assignment
than the white subordinate. This orientation may involve showing
that the white person has already had the equivalent of the new
assignment and, therefore, does not need it. It may also take
the form of demonstrating that the black person is more ready for
the lateral assignment than the white person. According to this
logic, the black person has certain elements of education or work
experience than make her or him more suited for the new
assignment than the white person. Both variations keep race out
of the discussion and present the white subordinate with a case
whose rationale is apparently irrefutable.

The boss also has the option of dealing directly with the
racial dynamics of the situation. If this strategy is followed,
then the crucial phrase receives an interpretation in terms of
race. More opportunities will become availabe to the white
subordinate <u>because he or she is white</u>. The assignment is
especially good for the black subordinate due to reasons that
pertain directly to race. Perhaps he or she will be working for
a white boss who is known to be good at developing black
subordinates. Perhaps the assignment is one that has rarely been
open to black managers. Regardless of the concrete reason, the
philosophical basis of the decision is that the gain in
opportunity for the black subordinate is substantially greater
than the loss for the white subordinate, because the
predominantly white organization inevitably creates more
opportunities for whites than for blacks.

Subordinates vary in the degree to which they speak to the
racial aspects of the situation. One approach is to assume, "The

decision is made." Then the objective of the subordinate is to place herself or himself in the best possible light to be considered for the next opportunity that becomes available. Following this orientation, the subordinate will inquire about what he or she might do in order to be favorably considered for the next opening. Emotionally, this strategy keeps the boss comfortable and induces a sense of obligation to be sure to take care of the subordinate when new opportunities occur. A second approach is for the subordinate to press more strenuously for "reasons" why he or she did not get the lateral assignment. Manifestly, the search will be for performance or career history explanations; perhaps the subordinate will question the boss' judgment on these issues. Latently, however, the subordinate is likely to be hoping that the boss will introduce race into the conversation--at which point the subordinate will be poised to become angry about "reverse discrimination." The boss who has not explicitly discussed race, however, is ready for a subordinate who goes at the subject indirectly and is unlikely to be inadvertently influenced into acknowledging that race was a factor in her or his decision. A subordinate who persists in questioning the boss may suddenly face one who turns the tables by saying something like, "Frank or Mary, you seem to think other factors affected my decision on this matter. What do you think the other considerations were?"

As long as neither party explicitly discusses the subject of race, a subtle game between the two sometimes occurs. Each tries to get to other to bring up the subject first in order to then

use it as a reason to be critical of either the decision or of the person's reaction to the decision. Rarely is either party successful in inducing the other to discuss the subject of race by going at the subject indirectly. But the presence of a secondary conversation about who can get the other person to mention the subject first does heighten the feelings of both parties.

A third class of options for the subordinate is to go directly at the subject of race. Often the form is almost accusatory. "I think I know why you selected Mary or Bill for this assignment. Its because he or she is black, and you are black. You just want to help black people; that's it." A boss who has decided to deny that race was relevant to the decision will usually repeat the denial at this point. On the other hand, a boss may decide to be explicit about race and start the interview by listening to the subordinate. Under these circumstances, the boss will respond, "Yes, I did select Mary or Bill partially because she or he was black. But don't forget, you are both my top performers, and I was sure that additional equally desirable assignments will become available for you." Subordinates faced with this kind of response from the boss are often surprised. They usually appreciate honesty of the response, although they may express some doubts about whether the boss will keep the commitment to them.

This role playing episode, therefore, has the potential of being enacted with and without explicit discussion of race. In all cases when the subject was avoided, a sense of uneasiness was observed in both parties. No matter what the boss said, the

subordinate virtually always believed that race was a relevant factor in the decision. The boss' behavior, however, influenced whether the subordinate made her or his beliefs known. In one particularly dramatic episode during the debriefing of this role play, a subordinate said, "I didn't want to make my liar into a boss." She, of course, consciously intended to say, "I didn't want to make my boss into a liar." Her unconscious broke through, however, and revealed that her primary response to the boss' denial was disbelief.

A thorough discussion of race in this episode involves acknowledgement of racial dynamics by both subordinate and boss. The boss needs to tell the subordinate that race was a consideration in the decision, and the subordinate needs to indicate her or his beliefs about the boss' motivation. Some subordinates accept without anger that other things being equal-- i.e., both were top performers--race was a valid factor in the decision. Others understandably are angered by the fact that race was a factor in their not getting a desirable assignment. This reaction occurred most often from individuals who believed that they had been passed over previously for desirable assignments. Bosses who acknowledged that race was a factor in their decisions sometimes could and sometimes could not accept the subordinate's anger, when it was expressed directly. When the racial dynamics of the situation were fully discussed by both parties, all involved in the role play--including support people and observers--tended to have a highly satisfying experience.

At the conclusion of the role plays one consultant led a

reflective discussion of the process as a whole. Participants observed that the boss often seemed to have the most difficult role. The relation between race relations and overall managerial competence was examined. The power of denial for both races was observed.

Lunch on the third day marked the approaching termination of the workshop. After lunch participants received lecture on "Change Processes" by the black male consultant. The chief aims of the lecture were to draw closure around the learning and change processes that had been taking place in the workshop during the preceding two and one-hald days and to provide an intellectual framework for transferring the workshop education to the job environment. Participants were reminded that learning inevitably has some clumsiness and discomfort associated with it, that differences and conflict may be harnessed toward the ends of personal learning and corporate effectiveness, and that adaptive change requires the efforts of and provides benefits for both black and white people. This lecture was almost always well received.

After the lecture, participants met for ninety minutes in small cross race discussion groups without consultants. Their charge was to talk together about how to apply their learnings from the workshop at their own work settings. People were informed that consultants were available, if needed. Only in the most unusual circumstances were consultants called in by participants. Our sense was that the participants used the meetings to complete any unfinished business they had about the workshop events. These final meetings seemed to be exremely

satisfying to the participants.

The final event of the workshop was a total group meeting with the staff sitting as a team in the front of the room as they had done at the close of the second day. Participants were asked to close their eyes briefly and reflect upon their total experience of the three days. When the period was over, people were invited to make whatever comments or ask any questions that they wished. The most frequent comment was that the workshop would have been more satisfying if there had been more time for the kinds of discussions they had just completed. Often this opening led to a more reflective analysis of whether the kinds of experiences they had just had would have been possible without the work that had proceded it. Consultants informed people that approximately four weeks later they would receive a questionnaire to evaluate the workshop and a list of all members of the corporation who had attended a race relations competence workshop. The end of the workshop was generally accompanied by positive feelings from most participants.

Minor Design Changes

The consultants periodically reviewed the evaluation questionnaires to see whether design changes were possible to improve participants' lerning. By and large, the kinds of comments that people provided during the workshop were also reflected in the feedback instruments. The topic on which there was consistent reference by white people was the relative balance of race alike the cross race discussion time. Initially, the

consultants responded to this by increasing the length of the small cross race discussions during the afternoon of day three. Later, another adjustment was made to add small cross race discussion groups during the morning of day one. We found no evidence--in either the informal comments or in the questionnaire--that these adjustments reduced the frequency of complaints about too much race alike time or too litle cross race time by white participants.

EVALUATIN OF THE WORKSHOP BY PARTICIPANTS

Data to evaluate the workshop was obtained through the questionnaire sent to participants. The instrument was mailed to respondents by the corporation with an enclosed stamped self-addressed envelope to the first author. Also included with the instrument was a memorandum assuring people tht their responses would be treated completely confidentially and that their decision whether to respond was fully voluntary--according to federal guidelines. At the time when these data were analyzed, 455 people had attended race relations competence workshops, and 259 (57%) had returned useable forms. Table 1 shows how these respondents were distributed among race-gender and job level groups.

The questionnaire consisted of open-ended and fixed alternative questions. The first portion constisted of questions specifically about the workshoop, and the second section addressed questions about race relations in general within the corporation. Open-ended questions were coded independently by a black and a white research assistant according to the categories

presented below. Figure 3 provides sample quotations from the open-ended questions. Half of the responses to each question were coded by the black coder and hald by the white coder. The median Tau B reliability measure for the two coders was 0.81. We present the results in the order in which they occurred on the questionnaire.

Questions About the Workshop

In the mailings to participants before the workshop, during the introduction to the workshop, and again within the lecture on racism, participants were informed that the purpose of the workshop was to provide people with an opportunity to learn about race relations competence. Because this was a novel concept, we wanted to determine the degree to which respondents could accurately report the stated purpose. The first question on the evaluation questionnaire stated, "Please record the purpose of the workshop as it was stated at the start of the program. (If you are unsure exactly how the purpose was stated, give your best estimate. If you believe no purpose was stated, indicate that.)" Table 2 shows the distribution of answers coded according to three degrees of understanding for the people who answered the question. Thirty-five percent of the respondents correctly stated the purpose, and another 37 percent partially correctly stated the purpose. No statistically significant differences between black and white respondents were observed.

The next pair of questions asked what events in the workshop contributed most and which contributed least to the person's own learning. Tables 3 and 4 provide the distribution of responses

to these questions for black and white respondents. On the
subject of contributing most to learning, there are no
statistically significant differences between black and white
respondents. The cross race discussion groups are most
frequently reported by both racial groups. Race alike groups and
role plays are next in order of being mentioned as contributing
most to learning. On the subject of contributing least to
learning, there are statistically significant differences between
black and white respondents. Whites are more likely than blacks
to view role plays and race alike discussions as contributing
least to their learning. The assessment of lectures in relation
to the experiential activities is also worthy of note; as a
general rule, this method of learning did not stand out as either
a positive or as a negative factor for the respondents.
Experiential portions, on the other hand, seemed to have a
strongest impact--both favorably and unfavorably.

As an additional means to obtain opinions about workshop
parts, we asked two questions about people's recommendations
about elements to be retained or increased versus those to be
eliminated or reduced. Tables 5 and 6 provide the results of
these analyses. Whites are somewhat more likely than blacks to
recommend retaining or increasing cross race discussion groups,
and blacks are somewhat more likely to propose retaining or
increasing race alike discussion groups. On the subject of what
might be eliminated or reduced, blacks are more likely than
whites actively to recommend "nothing," and whites are more
likely than blacks to recommend race alike groups and role plays.
Again, the lectures do not draw a substantial portion of

favorable or unfavorable responses.

The final open-ended question about the workshop asked participants, "What feedback do you have for the staff regarding their role in the design and conduct of the workshop? (You may want to consider the staff as a team and/or individual members. Regardless of what you have to say, please be as specific and concrete as you can.)" Table 7 shows the distribution of responses by racial group. Blacks are more likely than whites to give positive feedback to the staff as a whole, and blacks are less likely than whites to give negative feedback to the staff as a whole or to individual staff members.

Tables 8-13 provide the distributions, means, and standard deviations of each rating scale item for assessing the workshop by race and gender group. In general, blacks evaluate the workshop more favorably than whites, although both racial groups give predominantly positive ratings to all of the items. Differences between blacks and whites are significantly different on scales pertaining to the overall learning value of the workshop, contribution of the workshop to the organization as a whole, value of the workshop for black managers, and contribution of the staff to workshop outcomes. No statistically significant differences between the racial groups were observed for the contribution of the workshop to improving relationships between black and white managers and to the value of the workshop for white managers.

Questions About Race Relations in the Corporation

The second potion of the evaluation instrument consisted of the same questions as were used by Race Relations Advisory Group (Alderfer, Tucker, Alderfer, and Tucker, 1985). Three open-ended questions asked successively about : (1) what issues related to race relations have the most impact on the person's work life; (2) what would be the most effective thing the corporation could do to improve race relations; and (3) what would be the least effective things the corporation could do to improve race relations. Tables 14-18 contain the results of these analyses.

Responses to question 1 were scored according to three levels of analysis: (1) unit of attention, (2) direction of movement, and (3) subject of learning. Table 14 shows the distribution of responses by level of attention from black and white participants responding to the evaluation questionnaire. The two racial groups show a statistically different pattern of responses. Both groups show self as individual as the most frequent unit, although whites show this more frequently than blacks. Blacks show own racial group more frequently than whites, and whites show other racial group more often than blacks. Table 15 shows the distribution of responses by direction of movement. On this question there is no statistically significant difference between blacks and whites. For both groups, the most frequent response shows no sense of change. Table 16 shows the distribution of responses by subject matter of learning for the two racial groups. On this dimension, the two racial groups are statistically significant in their

pattern of responses. Blacks give more answers about the topic
of mobility than do whites, and whites report more learning about
the body of knowledge and behavioral skills of race relations
than do blacks.

Tables 17 and 18 report the patterns of response to
questions asking the best and worst things the corporation could
do to improve race relations. To neither question is there a
significantly different pattern of responses for blacks and
whites. The most frequent codable response about effective
actions by both groups is to continue the current efforts.
However, both groups also frequently mention intervening in the
personnel system to stop EEO as a means to improve race
relations--thus indicating that resistance to structural change
continues for both racial groups. The most frequent codable
response about ineffective actions by both groups is to do
nothing. Taken together, these two sets of data indicate that
the most frequent answers of workshop participants who answered
the evaluation questionnaire indicate that efforts to improve
race relations in the corporation should continue in accord with
the current program.

Relationship between Workshop Evaluation and Reception of Racism

The evaluation questionnaire was also designed to permit the
examination of relationships between how respondents evaluated
the workshop and how they perceived race relations in the
corporation. Questions about the workshop preceded items about
corporate race relations. In addition, the format of the fixed

alternative questions was as different as we could make it in order to reduce the effects of common method variance. The format of workshop evaluation items called for respondents to circle numbers from -3 through 0 to +3 arrayed across the page to give their evaluations; these numbers were transformed to 1 through 7 for purposes of reportingin Tables 8-13. The format of the perception of race relations items called for respondents to select and write a number from 1 (Strongly Agree) to 6 (Strongly Disagree) in the space immediately preceding statements about race relations in the corporation taken from the original diagnostic questionnaire. Evaluation items alternated in terms of whether the positive side of the scale was on the right or left side of the page, and the corporate race relations items included 3 of 7 that were reverse scored from the other four.

Table 19 shows the product moment correlations among the evaluation items and between each of these items and the perception of racism scale. The pattern of correlations among the evaluation items is consistently high as one might expect, and each of the items correlates positively with the racism scale. The median correlation among the evaluative items was 0.52 (p $<$ .01), while the median correlation between the racism scale and the evaluative items was 0.28 (p $<$ .01). Table 20 shows the product moment correlations among the racism items and between each of these items and the workshop evaluation scale. The pattern of correlations among the racism items is consistently high in absolute value as one would expect from earlier research (Alderfer, Tucker, Alderfer and Tucker, 1985). Each of items correlates positively in absolute value with the

evaluation scale. The median correlation among the racism items was 0.42 (p < .01), while the median correlation between the workshop evaluation scale and the racism items was 0.22 (p < .01). Based on these scale properties, one can suggest that the two scales measure different variables that are related positively to one another.

Table 21 shows the mean values of the two scales for the four race gender groups. As one would expect from all the results thus far presented, the results indicate highly significant differences among the groups on both scales. Black men and women evaluate the workshop more favorably than white men and women, and black men and women perceive more racism in the corporation than white men and women. For the total sample, the correlation between the two scales was 0.36 (p < .0001).

Table 22 shows the mean values of the two scales for race and gender groups separately. The results show clear evidence that blacks evaluate the workshop more favorably and perceive more racism than whites. On the gender comparison, women perceive more racism in the organization than do men, but there are no statistically significant differences between men and women in how they evaluate the workshop. Table 23 shows the mean values of the two scales for five hierarchical levels in the corporation and indicates no significant differences in either scale as a function of hierarchy.

Table 24 shows the correlations between each item of the evaluation scale and the racism scale for each racial group. On five of six items, the white group correlations are more positive

than the black group correlations. This finding is statistically significant (p $<$ .03) by the sign test. Moreover, the one item that shows a higher value for blacks pertains to the value of the workshop for black managers.

Taken together, then, the results of examining the relationship between workshop evaluation and perceived racism suggest mutual causality between the two variables. Blacks enter the workshop perceiving more racism in the corporaton than whites (Alderer, Alderfer, Tucker, and Tucker, 1980). They in turn give the workshop a higher evaluation than whites. Whites, on the other hand, show a greater tendency for workshop evaluation and racism to be related after the workshop. This black-white difference in correlations might come about because whites' perception of racism has a greater range to change than blacks' perceptions of racism. These conclusions, of course, are speculative, because the data we use to draw inferences are simply correlations between measures taken at the same time.

CONCLUSIONS

Closely tied to intergroup theory and clearly committed to changing inequitable dimensions of race relations in organizations, the race relations competence workshop provided participants with opportunities to learn about the collective forces of racial dynamics. This report described the theoretical basis of the workshop, reported the range of activities and outcomes associated with each element of the workshop, and analyzed participant reactions to the events. As a part in an overall race relations improvement program, the workshop made an

educational contribution to black and white organization members
who wished to learn.

On balance, the workshop received predominantly favorable
reactions by both black and white participants, although the black
reaction was more positive than was the white. In some ways--
such as the differing group alike exercises and race alike role
plays--the workshop recognized that the two racial groups started
the learning process from different origins. In other ways--such
as the similar group alike exercises and the common lectures--the
workshop treated the two racial groups in identical fashion. Our
evidence also indicated that members of the two racial groups
emerged from the workshop with both similar and different kinds
of learning. Both groups, for example, reported substantial
indications of learning about resistance to change. Blacks, on
the other hand, showed more evidence of learning about their own
racial group and more signs enjoying race alike group work than
whites did. Whites, in comparison, showed more evidence of
learning about themselves as individuals and about cross race
interactions than blacks did. Whites also evaluated the cross
race work more favorably than blacks did--even though both groups
gave predominantly favorable reactions to the cross race
discussion groups. Data also indicate that the experiential
components of the workshop were consistently more powerful--both
positivively and negatively--than the lectures. The findings
show that each racial group was able to relate to the workshop in
ways that were consistent with its own preferences about
learning. The differing degrees of satisfaction with the

workshop may reflect the fact that what whites had to learn about race was relatively more unsettling to them than what blacks had to learn was to them.

The picture of the workshop that we obtained through the questionnaires completed four weeks after the workshop ended was highly consistent with the observations reported by participants during the activities. This congruence of findings suggests that during the workshop participants were able to identify their major reactions and to report them frankly. We interpret these results as evidence for adequate mutuality between participants and staff during the learning process--a condition deemed essential for constructive parallel processes to occur during the workshop (Alderfer, 1983; 1985).

Our conclusions is that the workshop, for the most part, worked as intended. In assessing the overall impact of the workshop, we believe that it contributed an important piece to the overall race relations improvement program. However, without the other ingredients of the program--especially the Race Relations Advisory Group and the Upward Mobility Program--the workshop itself would have been far less significant. Perhaps it would have been merely palliative or, even worse, actively destructive. The evaluations reported here should be interpretted within the context of the overall program.

Figure 1

INTERGROUP TRANSACTION BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS

(top view)

→ Intrapersonal forces

┼┼┼┼┼→ Intragroup forces

⟹ Intergroup forces
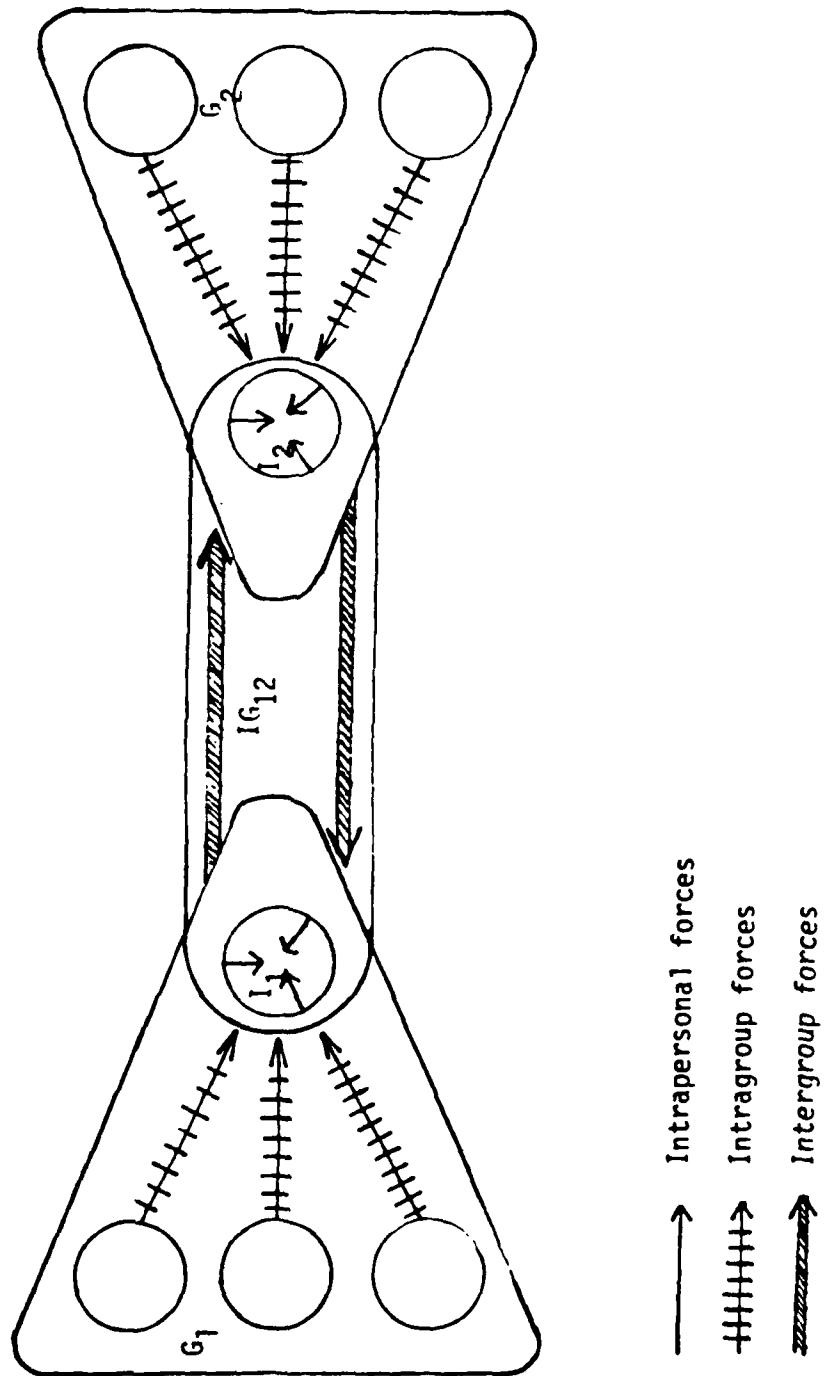
RACE RELATIONS WORKSHOP SCHEDULE

	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
8:30			
9:00	COFFEE		OPENING
9:30	OPENING SESSION: HISTORY OF PROGRAM AND DIALECTIC	LECTURE: ROLE-PLAY TECHNIQUES White Female	
10:00	LECTURE: RACISM White Male		CROSS RACE
10:30		ROLE-PLAY	ROLE PLAY
11:00	RACE ALIKE AND CROSS RACE DISCUSSION OF RACISM	IN	
11:30	LECTURE: THINKING AND FEELING Black Female	RACE-ALIKE GROUPS	
12:00			
12:30	LUNCH: RACE ALIKE GROUPS	LUNCH: CROSS RACE GROUPS	LUNCH: CHOICE OF RACE ALIKE OR CROSS RACE GROUPS
1:00	RACE ALIKE	RACE ALIKE	
1:30	WORK GROUPS	STUDY GROUPS	LECTURE: CHANGE PROCESSES Black Male
2:00	BREAK		
2:30		CROSS RACE	
3:00	SPECIAL RACE-LINKED EXERCISES	DISCUSSION GROUPS	APPLICATION GROUPS
3:30	BLACK: CORPORATE SURVIVAL		
4:00	WHITE: IMPROVE RACE RELATIONS	REVIEW	REFLECTION AND CRITIQUE
4:30			
5:00			

FIGURE 3

Sample Responses from Open-ended Questions

Please record the purpose of the workshop as it was stated at the start of the program. (If you are unsure exactly how the purpose was stated, give your best estimate. If you believe no purpose was given, indicate that.)

White Male: Provide learning opportunities of Race Relations Competence.

White Female: The purpose was to give a better understanding of both sides.

White Male: I'm not sure. But I believe the purpose of the workshop was to improve relations, by helping whites and blacks to possibly change their behavior and create attitude changes.

What events in the workshop contributed <u>most</u> to your own learning? (Please explain why and how whenever you can).

Black Female: The Group definition exercise: Whites deny group membership and emphasize individual actions. This tendency to disassociate one's self from the group helps perpetuate institutional racism because all whites can deny involvement in racist acts....

White Female: The role play themes in the race alike and cross race groups. I think role playing allows for the most sponaneity for the people playing the roles and the group watching...

Black Male: Mixed race role plays, these gave me the opportunity to view and understand some of the problems and difficulties faced by both my race group as well as the other.

What events in the workshop contributed <u>least</u> to your own learning? (Please explain why and how whenever you can.)

Black Female: The very lengthy discussion of "trust" among Blacks and Whites. Whites expressed surprise, disbelief, hurt, at the fact that most Blacks do not trust Whites and made this subject quite an issue. From a Black perspective, "trust" is not an issue; actions are. Speaking from a group perspective, distrust of Whites by Blacks is the natural outcome of many years of servitude, abuse, and unfair practices in this country. This lack of trust should not come as a surprise. Speaking as an individual, my trust must be earned by whomever the seeker happens to be--Black, Oriental, White, etc. A Black will probably gain my trust sooner than other races because I can more readily identify with another Black.

White Male: I thought that this workshop skirted the real concerns of whites, not only in the role playing but in some of the discussions. The real purpose of the workshop is to get whites to accept blacks being promoted. This is terrific, ok if the person is qualified, but if it's to make numbers caused by lobbying with a black board of director member, then our company is flirting with disaster!! So, the kinds of problems we whites are having is telling everyone the "stone is a beautiful jewel"...

If the workshop were redesigned, what elements should be eliminated or reduced in time devoted to them? (Explain your reasons whenever possible.)

White Female: Just about the whole workshop!

Black Female: Nothing should be eliminated or reduced in time. It should be lengthened to five days to allow for more small groups exercises or taken off premise so that evening assignments can be added. Why? I am concerned about the many participants leaving the workshop in a fog. How they will exit from this fog is unknown. A bit more time for discussion will help clear the air and perhaps establish more interracial lines of communication that will continue to thrive after the workshop is long over with. In addition, the small group sessions help Blacks and Whites to idenitfy those whites who are hard core racist that will probably never change. Once identified, they can be dealt with more effectively.

What feedback do you have for the staff regarding their role in the design and conduct of the workshop? You may want to consider the staff as a team and/or individual members. Regardless of what you have to say, please be as specific and concrete as you can.)

Black Female: All staff members were very responsive to the needs of the group, provided assistance when needed, intervened when necessary, etc... They were GREAT!

White Male: There was a clear separation between the "staff" and the white participants. Because of the recurring schedule of blacks there was more familiarity between the black group and "staff." This bothered me.

Black Female: The white consultants were very good in my opinion. However, I know they were resented by their own race.

What single learning in the workshop was most significant for you? Please explain how it happened. (If there were none, say that, and explain why you think no learning occurred for you.)

White Male: I was amazed that so many blacks in my group were articulate, etc. So that they almost "acted" white...

Black Female: After being through the workshops in the late 60's and early 70's I feel for the first time we are talking about the basic problem--racism. Though an explosive subject, it should help for better understanding in meeting and dealing effectively with demands of the present and future in our work and personal lives.

White Female: The most significant learning was the white group wanted to
be seen and heard as individuals; they did not perceive themselves as a group
or being part of a white group... I think we are very ego ridden and myopic.
I also thing this idnividual obsession probably hinders us working effectively
as a corporate team (black and white).

White Male: I learned that some whites could casually demonstrate one set of
values (racist) in a small private white group and cover it in a racially mixed
(or large white) group...

Black Male: A moment of insight into the stress and conflict experienced by
White males as they are confronted with a desire to be socially conscientious
(pro-affirmative action) but at the same time experiencing the shock associated
with shrinking opportunities and the resultant loss of faith in the American
dream that hard work and talent always lead to success.

TABLE 1

Questionnaire Response Frequency by Race, Gender, and Job Level

of Workshop Participants

(n = 259)

	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women	Totals
Bargaining Unit	3	4	13	7	27
First Level Management	20	21	25	28	94
Second Level Management	8	7	36	28	79
Third Level Management	2	2	18	9	31
Fourth Level and Higher Management	1	0	24	3	28
TOTALS	34	34	116	75	259

TABLE 2

Frequency Distribution of Responses for Purpose of Race

Relations Competence Workshop

	Blacks	Whites
Understand	22	63
Partially Understand	20	69
Not Understand At All	22	45

x^2, not significant

TABLE 3

Frequency Distribution of Responses for What Contributed
Least to Your Learning

	Blacks	Whites
Lectures in General	4	9
Lecture on Racism	0	0
Lecture on Thinking/Feeling	2	3
Lecture on Role Playing	0	0
Lecture on System Change	2	5
Race Alike Groups	6 (10%)	44 (27%)
Cross Race Groups	4	9
Role Plays	4 (7%)	44 (27%)
Lunch	5	4
Nothing	23 (40%)	13 (8%)
Specific Behavior	5 (9%)	22 (14%)
Large Group	3	10

x^2, not significant

TABLE 4

Frequency Distribution of Responses for What Contributed

Most to Your Learning

	Blacks	Whites
Lectures in General		
Lecture on Racism	0	0
Lecture on Thinking/Feeling	0	1
Lecture on Role Playing	0	0
Lecture on System Change	0	2
Race Alike Groups	16 (25%)	23 (13%)
Cross Race Groups	26 (41%)	88 (49%)
Role Plays	16 (25%)	39 (22%)
Lunch	0	1
Nothing	1	5
Specific Behavior	5 (8%)	18 (10%)
Large Group	0	2

$$x^2 = 45.23, \text{ d.f.} = 9, \text{ p} < .0001$$

TABLE 5

Distribution of Responses for What Should be Retained or Increased

	Black	Whites
Lectures in General	0	4
Lecture on Racism	0	0
Lecture on Thinking/Feeling	0	0
Lecture on Role Playing	0	0
Lecture on System Change	1	2
Race Alike Groups	7 (12%)	4 (2%)
Cross Race Groups	28 (47%)	109 (66%)
Role Plays	9 (15%)	23 (14%)
Lunch	0	0
Nothing	6	9
Specific Behavior	6	11
Large Group	2	3

$$x^2 = 14.51, \text{ d.f. } - 7, \text{ p } < .04$$

TABLE 6

Distribution of Responses for What Should be Eliminated or Reduced

	Blacks	Whites
Lectures in General	3	10
Lecture on Racism	1	0
Lecture on Thinking/Feeling	0	2
Lecture on Role Playing	0	0
Lecture on System Change	0	3
Race Alike Groups	9 (16%)	57 (35%)
Cross Race Groups	7 (12%)	5 (3%)
Role Plays	8 (14%)	41 (25%)
Lunch	4	1
Nothing	21 (38%)	21 (13%)
Specific Behavior	2	12
Large Group	1	9

$$x^2 = 41.78, \text{ d.f., } = 11, p < .0001$$

TABLE 7

Distribution of Responses for Feedback for Staff

	Blacks	Whites
Positive Black Staff	5	5
Positive White Staff	1	0
Positive Staff as a Whole	34 (60%)	76 (48%)
Negative Black Staff	1	10 (6%)
Negative White Staff	0	8 (5%)
Negative Staff as a Whole	14 (25%)	59 (37%)

$$x^2 = 15.84, \text{ d.f.} = 6, p < .02$$

TABLE 8

Workshop Evaluation Item 1: Overall Learning Value of Workshop for You

by Race Gender Groups

	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
	frequencies			
1. Very Negative	0	0	0	3
2. Negative	0	0	4	0
3. Slightly Negative	0	0	4	3
4. Neutral	2	0	3	6
5. Slightly Positive	8	6	34	19
6. Positive	16	21	60	35
7. Very Positive	6	7	10	8
Mean	5.62	6.03	5.49	5.38
Standard Deviation	1.29	0.63	1.05	1.30

$F_{3,256} = 2.81, \quad p < .05$

TABLE 9

Worskhop Evaluation Item 2: Overall Contributions of the Worskhop to the

Organization as a Whole by Race-Gender Group

	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
	frequencies			
1. Very Negative	0	0	0	3
2. Negative	0	0	4	1
3. Slightly Negative	0	1	4	1
4. Neutral	1	2	12	5
5. Slightly Positive	14	11	50	27
6. Positive	14	7	42	27
7. Very Positive	3	12	4	8
Mean	4.65	4.82	4.19	4.24
Standard Deviation	0.82	1.10	0.99	1.33

$$F_{3,256} = 3.91, \quad p < .01$$

TABLE 10

Workshop Evaluation Item 3: Value of Workshop for Black Managers

by Race-Gender Group

	Black Men	Black Woman	White Men	White Women
	frequencies			
1. Very Negative	0	0	0	2
2. Negative	0	0	2	2
3. Slightly Negative	1	4	6	3
4. Neutral	4	1	15	10
5. Slightly Positive	6	9	22	15
6. Positive	17	13	20	12
7. Very Positive	4	7	4	4
Mean	5.44	5.53	4.91	4.81
Standard Deviation	1.37	1.21	1.17	1.44

$$F_{3,256} = 3.36, p < .02$$

TABLE 11

Workshop Evaluation Item 4: Velue of Workshop for White Managers by

Race-Gender Group

	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
	frequencies			
1. Very Negative	0	0	0	2
2. Negative	1	0	5	2
3. Slightly Negative	3	2	4	3
4. Neutral	8	5	7	9
5. Slightly Positive	9	9	39	18
6. Positive	7	6	47	33
7. Very Positive	3	5	8	7
Mean	3.94	4.26	4.31	4.26
Standard Deviation	1.36	1.19	1.14	1.32

$F_{3,256} = 0.79$, n.s.

TABLE 12

Workshop Evaluation Item 5: Value of Workshop for Improving Black and White
Relationships between black and white Managers at XYZ by Race-Gender Group

	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
	frequencies			
1. Very Negative	0	0	1	4
2. Negative	0	0	3	1
3. Slightly Negative	1	1	2	2
4. Neutral	5	3	12	4
5. Slightly Positive	15	18	41	33
6. Positive	11	5	45	24
7. Very Positive	1	5	7	6
Mean	5.21	5.31	5.27	5.13
Standard Deviation	0.85	0.96	1.08	1.34

$F_{3,256} = 0.28$, n.s.

TABLE 13

Workshop Evaluation Item 6: Contribution of Staff to Workshop Outcomes

by Race-Gender Group

	Black Men	Black Women	White Men	White Women
	frequencies			
1. Very Negative	0	0	0	2
2. Negative	0	1	2	3
3. Slightly Negative	1	0	9	6
4. Neutral	1	1	14	16
5. Slightly Positive	5	3	23	18
6. Positive	17	13	52	20
7. Very Positive	8	15	11	7
Mean	5.94	6.18	5.32	4.85
Standard Deviation	0.91	1.07	1.18	1.47

$$F_{3,256} = 10.98, \ p < .0001$$

TABLE 14

Frequency Distribution of Responses by Unit of Attention

for Issues that Have   Personal Impact on Work Life

	Blacks	Whites
Self as individual	15 (28%)	64 (45%)
Own racial group	8 (15%)	4 (3%)
Self and own racial group	6	3
Other racial group	4 (8%)	28 (20%)
Relationship of racial groups	2	11
Corporate organization groups	5	12
None of the above	13 (25%)	20 (14%)

$$x^2 = 26.15, \text{ d.f.} = 6, \text{ p} < .0002$$

TABLE 15

Frequency Distribution of Responses by Direction of Movement

for Issues that Have Most Personal Impact on Work Life

	Blacks	Whites
Resistance to Change	16	38
Progressive Movement	9	43
Dialectic Movement	4	14
No Sense of Change	24	47

x^2, not significant

TABLE 16

Frequency Distribution of Responses by Subject Matter of Learning

for Issues that Have Most Personal Impact on Work Life

	Blacks	Whites
Mobility	17 (32%)	25 (18%)
Evaluation	6	5
Organizations Norms, Culture	2	7
Body of Knowledge	8 (15%)	42 (29%)
Behavioral Skills	2 (4%)	22 (15%)
Feeling Words	0	7
Racism or its Synonyms	9	8
Improved Race Relations	2 (4%)	11 (8%)
Quotas	1	3
White Cliques	0	0
None of Above	6	12

$$x^2 = 25.07, \text{ d.f.} = 9, \text{ p} < .003$$

TABLE 17

Frequency Distribution of Responses to Most Effective Corporate Action to Improve Race Relations

	Blacks	Whites
Intervence in formal Personnel Planning to stop EEO	11 (17%)	30 (19%)
Mandate improved race relations through top management action	15 (23%)	24 (15%)
Continue current efforts	13 (20%)	30 (24%)
Other	24 (38%)	67 (42%)

x^2, not significant

TABLE 18

Frequency Distribution of Responses to Least Effective Corporate Action

to Improve Race Relations

	Blacks	Whites
Do nothing	17 (28%)	32 (22%)
Intervene in formal Personnel planning to enhance EEO	7 (12%)	18 (12%)
Quotas	5 (8%)	18 (12%)
Stop Program	17 (28%)	12 (8%)
Other	14 (23%)	64 (44%)

x^2, not significant

TABLE 19

Workshop Evaluation Scale: Single Item and Total Scale Correlations

(n = 259)

	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5	Item 6
1. Overall learning value of the workshop for you.	1.00					
2. Overall contributions of the workshop to the organization as awhole.	.53	1.00				
3. Value of workshop for Black managers.	.52	.49	1.00			
4. Value of workshop for White managers.	.50	.55	.30	1.00		
5. Value of workshop for improving relationships between Black and White managers at XYZ.	.51	.55	.39	.55	1.00	
6. Contribution of staff to the workshop outcomes.	.43	.35	.43	.32	.30	1.00
TOTAL Workshop Scale	.69	.72	.71	.62	.67	.59
TOTAL Racism Scale	.32	.29	.27	.14	.19	.38

$$r_{SB} = .87$$

TABLE 20

Perception of Racism Scale: Single Item and Total Scale Correlations

(n = 259)

	Item 1	Item 2	Item 3	Item 4	Item 5	Item 6	Item 7
1. Most managers at XYZ are biased against Blacks.	1.00						
2. Blacks expect too much. (reverse scored)	-.11	1.00					
3. Whites are given more promotional opportunities than Blacks.	.48	-.44	1.00				
4. Whites cannot deal with competent Blacks.	.54	-.33	.50	1.00			
5. XYZ has already done too much on Black-White issues. (reverse scored)	-.29	.41	-.40	-.28	1.00		
6. Race relations within XYZ are good. (reverse scored)	-.46	.29	-.40	-.47	.39	1.00	
7. Blacks are almost never evaluated fairly by White supervisors.	.54	-.21	.43	.63	-.25	-.40	1.00
TOTAL Racism Scale	-.70	.57	-.77	-.78	.58	.68	-.72
TOTAL Workshop Scale	-.23	.26	-.32	-.20	.41	.17	-.22

$$r_{SB} = .84$$

TABLE 21

Mean Workshop Evaluation and Perceived Racism Scale Values for

Race-Gender Groups

	Workshop Evaluation	Perceived Racism
Black Men	4.92	4.31
Black Women	4.94	4.68
White Men	4.34	3.21
White Women	4.33	3.40
$F_{3,256}$	6.62	45.88
p	$< .001$	$< .0001$

$$r_{WE,PR} = 0.36, p < .0001$$

TABLE 22

Mean Worskhop Evaluation and Perceived Racism Scale Values for

Race Groups and Gender Groups

|	Workshop Evaluation	Perceived Racism
Black	4.91	4.47
White	4.36	3.28
$F_{1,245}$	17.85	112.81
p	$<.0001$	$<.0001$
Men	4.47	3.44
Women	4.54	3.80
$F_{1,245}$	.02	5.08
p	n.s.	$<.003$

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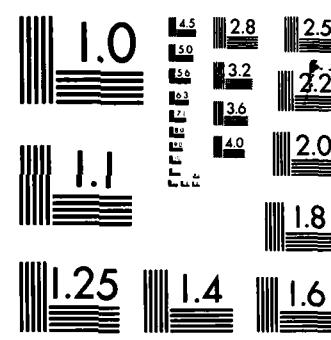
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TABLE 23

Mean Workshop Evaluation and Perceived Racism Scale Values for

Job Level Groups

	Workshop Evaluation	Perceived Racism
Bargaining Unit	4.59	3.86
First Level	4.53	3.75
Second Level	4.43	3.42
Third Level	4.44	3.53
Fourth Level and Higher	4.60	3.47
$F_{4,239}$	0.68	2.06
p	n.s.	n.s.

TABLE 24

Correlations between Workshop Evaluation Scale Items and Perceived

Racism Scale for Black and White Groups

	Blacks	Whites
1. Overall learning value of the workshop for you.	.16	.32***
2. Overall learning value of the workshop for organizations as a whole.	.14	.24***
3. Value of workshop for black managers.	.20*	.14**
4. Value of workshop for white managers.	-.10	.31***
5. Value of workshop for improving relationships between Black and White managers at XYZ.	.06	.25***
6. Contribution of staff to workshop outcomes.	.25**	.27**

$$* \quad p < .10$$

$$** \quad p < .05$$

$$*** \quad p < .01$$

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